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## V. ART

### Sculpture and Painting

532 517 In the field of native art the Tukuna have not only preserved the traditions of their ancestors but have even developed them. Above all, the Tukuna have a curious bent toward sculpture. An Indian, seeing a large, misshapen tree trunk floating near the edge of a lake, will repair to his canoe, lay hands on his hatchet, and give the log the outlines of an enormous alligator. Observing a rounded termites' nest hanging from a high branch bent over the igapó, he will stop, climb up with his machete, and, with perilous acrobatics, transform it into the horrid grimace of a demon. Any knot on a thick tree trunk within reach of his hands invariably receives similar treatment. A Tukuna rubber gatherer I once saw had decorated his smoking hearth with plastic figures of animals. (See p. 48.)

The sculptured figures of men and women (pl. 9, *b*) made of muirapiranga, an extremely heavy wood, toys for children, and so forth, are not very artistic; but one finds among the representations of animals (pl. 9, *c*, *d*) very handsome works of art, starting with small stools in the form of turtles or bats. The Tukuna taste for sculpture, however, is displayed more strikingly in two classes of objects: dance staves and necklaces of figurines from tucumã palm nuts.

532 293 The dance staves (dɔ:'pa), made of a light, white wood and from one to one and a half meters long, are used at ceremonies, the same staff never being used on two occasions. They are carried over the left shoulder; the lower end generally has a hook or button from which is suspended a small drum to be struck with the right hand. The upper part of the staff, which rests on the shoulder, has usually four planed surfaces and is decorated by one or more carved figures, interspersed with geometric designs, the whole being painted in bright colors (pl. 14, *a–f*).

532 301 The figurines of the necklaces are carved of tucumã palm nuts (*Astrocaryum* sp.), generally tucumã piranga, but sometimes ordinary tucumã or anajá nuts (*Maximiliana regia*) are used. The first two have a surface of brilliant jet, the third is a clear, brown color. The figures are of men firing with a shotgun, women with children, a girl in the puberty-ceremony costume, pairs of dancers, or an infinity of animals, from the crab louse (*úra*) to the jaguar. These little figurines, separated only by rows of seeds or glass beads, make very striking necklaces (pl. 13).

532 463 In the Igarapé de São Jeronymo there are a brother and sister, Flavio pi'ë and Raimunda ç'k[rane, thirty and thirty-five years old, respectively, who are the best artists in this line. Their products are sought by neighboring Indians and by those of other igarapés, where their motifs are later imitated. Raimunda does not limit herself to copying live models; she showed me a goodly number of figurines which were pure fantasy, and others which she "saw in a dream." For his part, pi'ë likes to reproduce motifs seen in prints of civilized origin. Thus, he carved a dragon, the trade-mark of a certain marketed product, and the United States eagle, complete with the shield of stars and stripes on its breast.

531 The Tukuna produce far less painting than sculpture, partly because of their extremely primitive technique, for the Tukuna have not yet invented or adopted

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202 As a signal of alarm they strike blows with the *olho do terçado*, "eye of the machete,"[a] on the keel or sides of an overturned canoe, or against a leaning plank.

534 The rattle stick is a substitute for the gourd rattle, *maracá*, which is completely unknown among the Tukuna. It is a crude stick, retaining its bark, about 1 m. or more in length and from 2 to 3 cm. thick. The rattles are tied to the lower third. It is not used in the "military march" mentioned above, but it is never absent from any other ceremony. The beat is often at variance with the measure of the drum, owing to its generally much slower tempo.

The rattles are almost always made of the hulls of one of two species of vegetable: the fruit of the *auaí* (*Thevetia nerifolia;* l.g., auaí, T., a:'ru), the other and smaller one called in Tukuna kɔ'/taru (l.g., *auahy dó igapó*). The hulls are suspended from a narrow web plaited from tucum fiber. The masked dancers also carry these hulls attached to the ends of their staves and spears, and even tied below the knee.

An instrument of masculine use, which I do not know whether to consider a variation of the rattle stick or a "stamping tube," is the ba:'/ma, an enormous, thick reed (l.g., tazuaruçú; *Guadua superba* Hub.) about 2½ m. or more long (pl. 14, *g*). The upper end, in the shape of a caiman's mouth, is open to a depth of 20 [532] to 30 cm. This mouth is toothed in the masculine and smooth in the feminine specimens. Below the mouth is the small face of a demon, similar to those of the masks, and below this are tied rattles. The rest of the piece is decorated with a few belts [237] of urucú on which are glued hawk feathers.

533 The ba:'/ma are always used in pairs, male and female. Two players dance, one in front of the other, each holding his ba:'/ma in both hands and beating the ground with the lower end, the two instruments being crossed. Since the internal nodes are not removed, the sound is negligible. Like the turtleshell drum, the ba:'/ma is used exclusively by certain clans; it also figures in the legend of the culture heroes.

534 Used in conjunction with the ba:'/ma, there are also the kɔ"'iri, horns of thick bamboo some 70 cm. or more in length and 6 cm. in diameter. One end of the instrument is sealed by a node; the other is open and cut into the shape of a caiman's [532] mouth, exactly like that of the ba:'/ma. Like the latter, the kɔ"'iri are decorated with urucú and hawk plumage. About 15 cm. from the closed end there is a rectangular opening through which one blows into the instrument to produce its single note. It is used only on special occasions—by both sexes and always by three couples. Like the ba:'/ma, the kɔ"'iri are male and female.

Aside from these instruments of ceremonial use there are few musical instruments; such as there are are somewhat suspect as aboriginal instruments or are clearly post-Columbian. Without doubt the flute (vɔvë'ru), made from royal-hawk [237] bone (*Harpya destructor*, L.) is aboriginal, since the hawk occurs in a legend of the culture heroes (see p. 125). It is blown into from one end and has five holes for the fingers—four grouped together on the anterior side and one opposite them on the lower surface. Another flute, cited by Tessmann, is made of bamboo, with two holes close to the lower end; a specimen of this type is in the Berlin Museum. [171] A third flute, with more holes, is just like that used by the Neobrazilian population of the region, but I do not know which was borrowed from whom.

[a] This refers to the iron ring helving the blade to the grip.—Trans.

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ceed in obtaining any evidence to show whether the other clans also had any characteristic or distinctive facial tattoo, for this practice was abandoned so long ago that the memory of it has been obliterated. 304 614

The former existence of similar distinctive elements, now lost, would explain some of the differences in the statements of the early writers about Tukuna facial tattooing (see p. 39). Nino once told me that the members of the clan ə'/ta' (chicken) could be recognized from afar, since, when walking, they used to nod their heads just like chickens, but as this clan did not live in that locality, he could not prove his statement by concrete examples. In conversation, a certain Indian told some others that he was a runt because he belonged to the clan čë'vë'ru, the name of a small kind of auahy. Lastly, an Indian once said that I should belong to the clan kaurë' (Japihím) because, like that bird, I had blue eyes. In any case, the idea that some characteristic of the eponym should, or may, appear in the members of a clan is not entirely strange to the Tukuna.

In the feather ornaments used even today at the rites of passage there is not a single clan distinction. On the wall of the girl's seclusion hut a figure of a deer is painted, not because this animal is related to any clan, but because the deer is the symbol of that vigilance which the girl and those responsible for her should observe. 614 [301] [532]

It is said that the members of the clan të'ma (Burity) formerly spoke a language different from the others', a statement that could be true only if this clan had been collectively localized. There is a legend that refers to the origin of the clans, but not of their names, since it relates only how the culture hero dyoi', after fishing, in the company of his brother *e'pi*, for the first men, separated his people from his brother's, this separation being the origin of the moieties. Afterward he ordered a *jacurarú* to be cooked, and all were obliged to taste the broth; thus each one learned to which clan he belonged. According to another version, a pot containing a boiled *jacuruxy* was sent from heaven by ta-ë' ("Our Mother") for the same purpose (see p. 114). I do not believe that these facts justify classifying the Tukuna clans as totemic, as the Capuchin missionary Frei Fidelis, after only lightly touching the subject, would like to do.[1] There is not a trace of belief in a mystical parenthood common to members of a clan and the respective tree or animal correlated with it, nor do these correlations represent any emotional value. [198] 614 619 773

*The personal name.*—There is one element, however, by which an informed person may recognize an individual's clan without directly asking him: the personal name, which in veiled fashion indicates or connotes the tree or animal of the clan by reference to some quality, as illustrated in the following tabulation. 551 614

Clan čiva'
(Seringarana; jaguar)

| Personal Name | Meaning | Analysis |
|---|---|---|
| ♂ vanë'-kị | false [jaguar], that is, one that does not pursue man | vanë', false; kị, masc name suffix |
| ♂ nuˢë'tị-kị | evil-eyed [jaguar] | nuˢ, bad; ë'tị, eye |

[1] The author's opinion only. Most anthropologists would unhesitatingly dub the phenomenon totemic.—Ed.

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881 534 Before describing the performances, however, some explanation is necessary of the two elements that play such an important role in them—the ceremonial musical instruments and the masks.

*The musical instruments.*—We have already seen that the term "uariciána" serves to designate two quite different instruments, which share only their enormous length, their taboo character for women and children, and their almost wholly ceremonial use. One, the bʊ′/bʊ, is a conical horn made of a section of bark, rolled into a spiral; the other, the tɔ′/kɨ, is a wooden megaphone. Instruments of [171] the bʊ′/bʊ type are very common in the Amazon basin and in the region adjacent to the Guianas. The tɔ′/kɨ, in my opinion, has never been met with except among the Tukuna, for whom it is of the greatest importance, being the voice of a demon; whereas the bʊ′/bʊ is merely an accessory instrument.

881 ●532 534 The tɔ′/kɨ was formerly invariably accompanied by two statues of muirapiranga wood (T., pʊ′kɨrẽ). Of those that I saw on the Rio Jacurapá, one was a little under, the other a little over, a meter in length and crudely made, but I was informed that in the old days they were the height of a normal man. Into these entered the shades of demons, who sang through the tɔ′/kɨ, with no one approaching it; there were no men players. In those times the instrument was painted with clay of various colors; neither it nor the statues were kept in water, but they were housed in a small, closed compartment within the dwelling. I did not succeed in learning the names of the personages represented by these statues. One person told me that the masculine statue was entered by the spirit of an ancient shaman of the Omágua, who had been slain by the Tukuna.

881 534 During the festivities, the tɔ′/kɨ and bʊ′/bʊ—there are always two or more of the latter—are brought to the enclosure each day after nightfall and are removed before dawn. The host selects an old man versed in the ritual to take care of these instruments, and also chooses other persons from among the guests, *ad hoc*, to transport and play them (tɔ′/kɨ-ŋarɨ-pʉ̈ru′/ŋ, player).[a] No society, nor even an individual (aside from the host), is permanently in charge of the uariciánas.

Each instrument is carried in a horizontal position on the shoulders of two persons, while behind them a third plays it once or twice during the procession. In front of the ceremonial instruments march two or three piston-flute (ŋë′kutɨ) players (see p. 43), and a few beaters (kvaidu′/ɨ′) armed with clubs, with which they run round the feast house and beat on the thatched covering, to frighten the women and children. The instruments are placed in the enclosure on forked sticks or sawhorses, with the mouthpiece at a convenient height and the bell turned toward the wall behind which the girl stays in seclusion. With some intermission, the bʊ′/bʊ and tɔ′/kɨ are blown all night. In the enclosure there is always a pot with drink for the players and also for the instruments themselves, for a gourdful is poured into their mouths as a libation.

881 534 773 The tɔ′/kɨ and bʊ′/bʊ were invented by the culture hero dyəi′. Each tɔ′/kɨ bears a name given it by its owner: that of dyəi′ is called e:ta-vë ("Of the Star"). Other tɔ′/kɨ names are ëča ("King Vulture," urubú rei), i′rava (urubú gereba), mai"a′ ("Otter"), and so forth. First, dyəi′ painted his instrument with *carajurú* (*Arrabidea chica*, Bur.), but an immortal counseled him to paint it with clay of

[a] The *p* in pʉ̈ru′/ŋ is pronounced with incomplete closure of the lips, almost like *f*.

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The sewing is done with an eyed bone needle and tucum thread. For certain types of disguises, trouser legs are made from the same piece, and sleeves of attached pieces are obligatory. Some forms cover the wearer from the head to the middle of the calf with one section. Some of these also have sleeves, others only lateral openings through which the arms are thrust. In still others the wearer's arms remain within the garment, being held close to the body and invisible. Those which do not cover the head are closed about the neck by a threaded string; the garments covering the head have the face represented in the appropriate place on the same piece. The costumes with the head fashioned as a separate section have a kind of cap or sack of tururí that covers the entire head to the breast.

In manufacturing face masks, no matter what the design may be, the Tukuna seem to vie with one another in producing the most horrible countenances, with cheeks of black pitch from the *unaní* (*Moronobea* sp.), protuberant eyes of mirror fragments (formerly bits of mother-of-pearl), great, circular, protruding ears, an enormous, hooked or pointed nose, and a distorted mouth with huge, threatening teeth.

Other masks simply have a face painted on the tururí. Further, a few face masks carved of wood (for example, those which represent the sun) have pleasant, human features. Still other masks cover only the head to the torso with one piece, but enlarge the stature of the invisible wearer to the height of two and a half meters by means of a body woven of uarumã strips that rests on the bearer's shoulders. This type ends in an artificial head, which always represents some animal, and never the grimace of a demon.

All the costumes, whether they end in trouser legs or a skirt, have at the hem fringes of envira de matamatá or tururí, which fall to, or almost to, the ground.

The most characteristic motifs represented are the following:

ɔ'ma, the demon of the wind. (Pl. 16, *a*.) The costume is always of red tururí, with legs and sleeves and with few designs. It is equipped with an erect phallus a half meter in length, slightly conical in shape, and testicles the size of a closed fist. It is with this phallus that Wind knocks down the trees of the jungle. The face mask is enormous, seventy centimeters or more in length, and of corresponding width. The ears are almost a half meter in diameter. I also saw one costume that had on its head an enormous bush of vines and second-growth plants which made it even more disproportionate. In his hand ɔ'ma bears a globular whistle (pl. 16, *d*) with an attached air tube, made of a small calabash and a bamboo tube, the whole covered with tururí. With this instrument, which produces a low, mournful cry, he imitates the noise of a storm. Especially when the hour approaches to hand over the mask, ɔ'ma attacks the spectators with his phallus, particularly the men, since the women soon flee, and tries to knock them down during the pursuit. If he turns against the women, it may happen that one of the more resolute, amid general hilarity, will seize and hold him by the phallus. Speaking in Portuguese to the Neobrasilians, the Tukuna call ɔ'ma the "Mother [!] of the Wind."

bëru', the female butterfly demon. (Pl. 17, *b*.) This demon is also represented in a red tururí costume with sleeves and trouser legs. On the chest are painted the elongated breasts that characterize her. On the outside of both sleeves is a wheel of cipó, 60 cm. in diameter and covered with tururí, representing the wings. The face mask, however, is much smaller than that of the preceding costume. The nose is fashioned of a spiraled strip of liana, in imitation of a butterfly's proboscis.

dyë'vaë, the water demon. (Pl. 16, *c*.) This figure is 2.6 m. tall, not counting the feelers. It has neither arms nor legs. The head, which resembles that of a catfish, has a mouth opened upward and is garnished with long feelers.

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292 776 532 ma'vi, the araparyrana tree. (Pl. 18, *b*.) The fruits of this tree have an odor and anciently had an agreeable taste, since lost because the culture hero ɛ'pi dropped them into curare before leaving the earth. The costume of red or white tururí, which sometimes has sleeves but never trouser legs, covers the wearer from head to foot. The faceless head is conical and has on top a plume of naruma stripe to the tips of which are attached small white placques of burity frond-stalks, rhomboid or divided, which represent the fruit of the araparyrana. The characteristic ornament of the costume consists of a painted, toothed J, simple or double. A rod is carried in [534] the right hand, while the left holds a long, slim bamboo whistle introduced into the mouth through a small orifice in the tururí; today this whistle is almost always replaced by the long stem of a papaya leaf.

ʒavɨ', maize. (Pl. 17, *a*.) The outfit, of white tururí painted with vertical stripes, has no face, no arms, and no legs. The conical head ends in a tuft representing a corn tassel. Two imitations of ears of corn are attached to each side, one about the height of the elbow, the other just below.

tɔɨ', caiarára monkey (*Cebus albifrons*) (pl. 18, *a*) and taikɨrë', prego monkey (*Cebus fatuellus*) (pl. 18, *c*) are the two commonest types of costumes. Individually, the representation differs greatly, and in neither can one distinguish the animals whose names the represented demons bear, except that one or the other is shown with a phallus in the shape characteristic of the species. The faces are always diabolical; the garments, of red or white tururí, have no trouser legs and rarely have sleeves, the arms protruding through lateral openings.

292 [177] The imagination of the wearers has free play in the ornamental painting of the tururí, so that one observes modern airplanes represented side by side with traditional designs. These outfits are characterized by rattles suspended by wooden

293 [534] hooks, or on fantastically long and thick spears, or even on a smooth stick of wood 25 cm. in length by 2 cm. in diameter; with these the masqueraders rhythmically beat against the hooks. Once I saw nine of these masqueraders holding a log as thick as a man's arm horizontally before them, with which they beat out the measure. Another carried a handful of slim, pointed rods of anajá ribs or similar material, which he threw, two or three at a time, like assegais, against the wall of the girl's seclusion room, where they remained sticking. The spectators shouted for him to throw them at the figure of the deer painted on the wall.

881 These tɔɨ' masqueraders always comport themselves in a very impetuous, cocky manner, beating on the house thatch before entering, and galloping furiously to and fro through the center of the festive house, with no regard for those who may be inside. After a while they present themselves in a threatening attitude before the jars, demanding drink, some of the tɔɨ' giving in exchange "their son" (pl. 16, *d*), a doll of tururí in more or less human form with a demon's face, which [524] is carried suspended from the backs and which after the feast serves as a plaything of the little girls.

[415] Those who have a face mask in one piece with the body costume drink by means of the tube of a papaya leafstalk. Afterward they again race off to disappear in the jungle, where they remove and store their masks; they never rest or sit down while in the house. As soon as a masked dancer, regardless of his type, enters the house, a few persons, sometimes even the owner or his wife, array themselves behind him and, holding on to his costume, accompany him in his mad career through the dwelling; to escort the taikɨrë' or tɔɨ' thus is no simple matter, but it forms the favorite entertainment of the older children of both sexes. Probably this is what Spix meant to show in his plate with the two little girls holding the fringes of the masquerader in front of the rest.

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## The Spots on the Moon

539 In one of the large malocas in the old days there lived, among other persons, a boy with his sister. At night the youth secretly crept to his sister's hammock and had intercourse with her. [The houses were tightly sealed at night because of mosquitoes and therefore were completely dark.] She slept so soundly that she was unaware of anything; only in the morning did she realize what had happened because her sexual organs were moist. The following night she tried to stay awake, but failed, and the same thing happened to her as on the preceding night. At last she

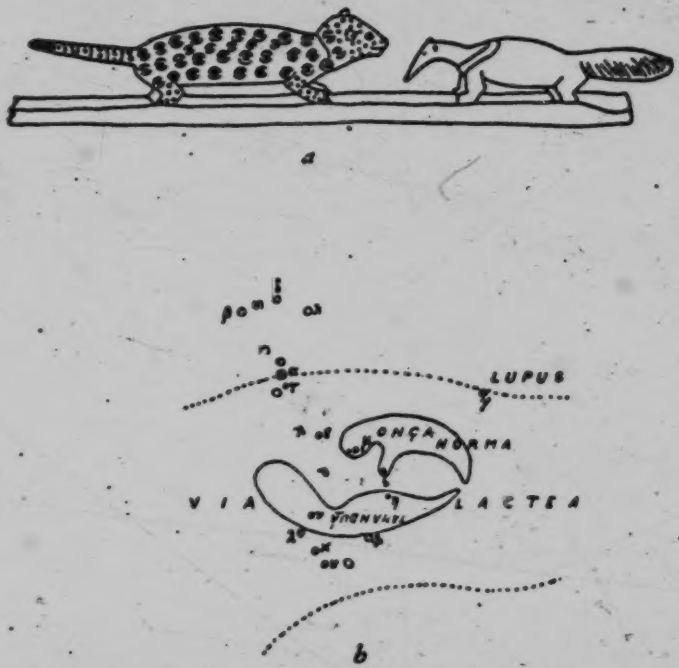


Fig. 13. Jaguar and anteater. a. Carved figures on a dance staff, × ⅓. b. Constellation.

became pregnant and had a son. As was the custom, she grated genipapo to paint the child black, and at night placed the pot containing the dye next to her hammock.

When in the darkness her brother came again to lie with her, she thrust her hand into the dye and rubbed it over his face. He recognized the genipapo from its odor and immediately made off to the edge of the jungle, where he picked leaves to wipe his face. As soon as he threw away a soiled leaf it turned into a forest turkey, an *anum* [*Crotophaga minor*, Gm.], or some other black-colored bird. Then he went to the creek and washed his face. For this reason the Igarapé de São Jeronymo is black even to this day. He was never again seen by anyone, but went up to the sky, where he became the moon.

## Jaguar and Anteater

The jaguar once met the great banded anteater [*tamandud bandeira*] and said, "My strength is in my teeth and claws. Where is yours?" Replied the anteater, "In my arms and claws." "And where is your heart?" again inquired the jaguar. "In my arm," was the reply. The two fought.

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PLATE 9

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Wood carvings. *a*. Capubira with young. *b*. Dolls of muirapiranga wood. *c*. Small bench in the form of a tortoise. *d*. Tucunaré and ray. *a*, *b*, *d*, × 2/3; *c*, × 1/12.

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●532
322

a

[524]

b

[352]

c

d

WOOD CARVINGS

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PLATE 13

Necklaces of tucumã and anajá-nut figurines. Figurines in necklace at top represent the following: *a*. Hummingbird. *b*. Small bird. *c*. Maguary. *d*. Angel with a tail? (seen in a print). *e*, *h*. Buzzard. *f*. Small bird. *g*. Man. *i*, *j*, *k*. Cigana. *l*. Armadillo. × ⅓. *m*. Necklace of figurines. × ⅓.

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1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

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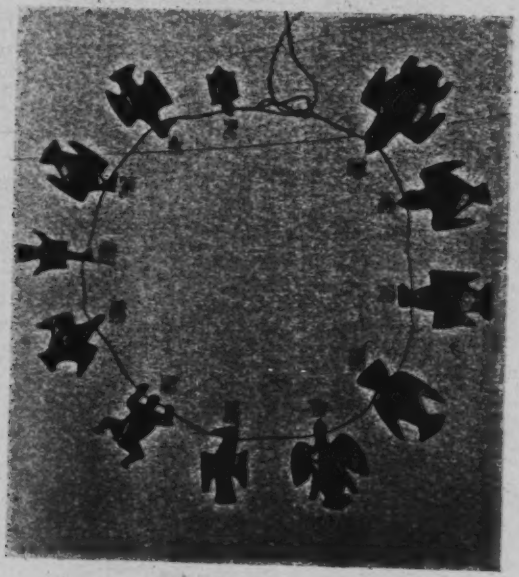

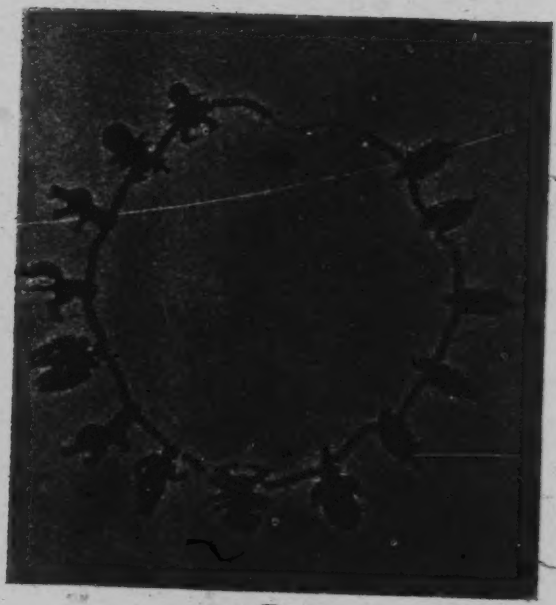

NECKLACES OF FIGURINES

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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532

a b c d e f

[534]

g h i j

DANCE STAVES AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

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PLATE 16

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[534]

Masquerade costumes and accessories. *a*, ɔ̈ma, the demon of the wind. *b*, Otter. *c*, dyëˀvaë. *d*, ɔ̈ma's whistle (left); "son" of tɔ̈jˀ (right). *d*, × ⅙.

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a

b

[534]

c

d

[P. 201]

MASQUERADE COSTUMES AND ACCESSORIES

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PLATE 17

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Masquerade costumes and uariciúna enclosure. *a*. ťavɨ' (maize). *b*. bëru', the female butterfly demon. *c*. Enclosure where ceremonial musical instruments (uariciúna) are kept.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

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292
532

a

b

346

c

MASQUERADE COSTUMES AND THE UARICÁNA ENCLOSURE

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PLATE 18

Masquerade costumes. *a*. tɜ̨ʲ (caiarára monkey). *b*. maʷvɨ, the araparyrana tree. *c*. tɜ̨ʲ and taikɨrö' (prego monkey).

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1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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292
532

a

b

[293]

c

MASQUERADE COSTUMES

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

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[292]

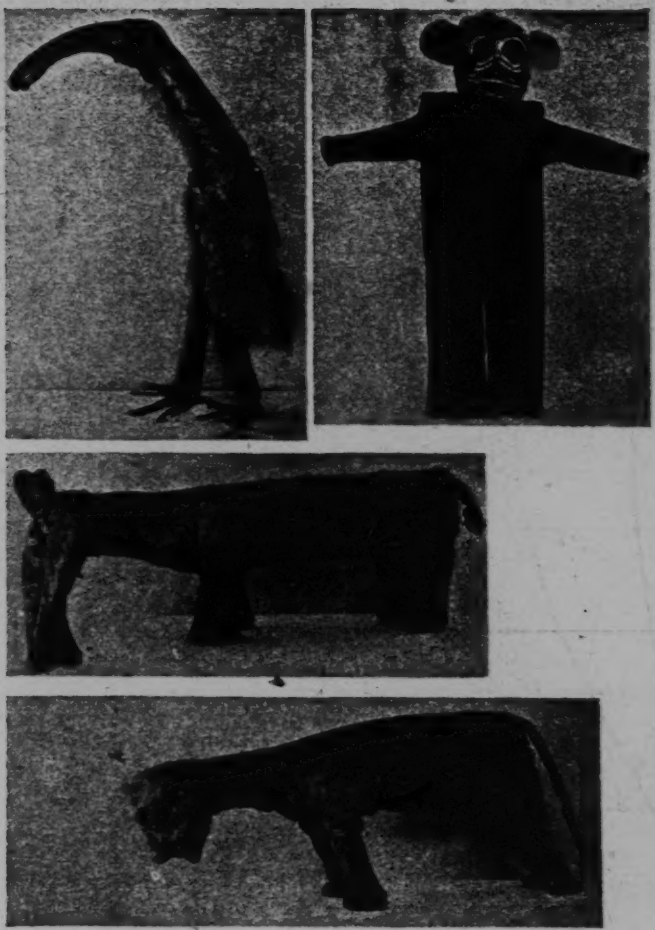

PLATE 64.—Tucuna objects of bark cloth. *Top, left:* Jaburú. *Top, right:* Garment with mask. *Center:* Mythological animal. *Bottom:* Jaguar. (Animals are about 4 ft. long; other objects to same scale.) (Courtesy Curt Nimuendajú and Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi, Belém.)

[p. 714 A]

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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Each residence has a proper name, given by the owner at a special feast. Houses are usually clean. 552 356

**Household furniture.**—Hammocks are made by a netlike technique of tucum thread of different colors; they are now used only for daytime resting. Clothes are kept in large baskets. 513 286

On the struts and rafters of the house one can often see remnants of the paraphernalia of feasts: masks, turury fringes, drums, and dance sticks. Ears of maize hang from the frame of the house or are piled in the loft. 352

The *Tucuna* never build a fire or eat in the dwelling. The kitchen is always a small separate house. Fire was formerly produced by drilling a horizontal piece of wood, which was placed over two cross pieces. There is, however, a tradition that even in old times they made fire by striking two stones. [343] 372

Fire fans are made exclusively of large bird wings. [412]

The *Tucuna* have plenty of small four-legged stools, either rectangular or oval, made from a single piece of wood, sometimes elaborately carved in the shape of a chelonian or batrachian. 352 532

## TRANSPORTATION

Formerly, the *Tucuna* traveled largely on land, although on the small streams they used small primitive canoes made of paxiuba palm. From the *Omagua* they learned to make "ubá" type dugout canoes, and from the Neo-Brazilians to make "casco" type dugouts which were widened by heating them over a fire. These are sometimes provided with round shields (rodellas) and gunwales. *Tucuna* canoes are so well made that civilized people seek them. Paddles have crutch handles and a round blade with a large point. The blade and the crosspiece on the end of the handle, but not the handle, are invariably painted black. 501 [177]

## DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION

Formerly, both sexes trimmed their hair slightly over the brows, and used a comb made of twigs held between two parallel sticks. 302

Both sexes used to pierce their ear lobes; only women do so now. Through the hole they usually wore little plates of white wood; on feast days they inserted small rods with feathers on the front end, from which a small metal plate hung. Women's plates were triangular, men's moon-shaped. Long ago they pierced the nasal septum, through which they had put a little rod of *Gynerium*. They also used to tattoo the face, which at one time may have indicated clans. There are still recollections of circumcision of girls, but not of men, as described by Father Noronha in 1768. 304 301 [174] [114]

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Men formerly wore a belt with one apron of turury inner bark in front and another behind. The penis was stuck under the belt. Women perhaps at first went about entirely nude, but later adopted a short cloth of turury or of woven cotton, wrapped around the hips. Men wore bracelets with long feathers and necklaces of teeth (pl. 65, *bottom*). At feasts chiefs wore a cap of feathers mounted on a cotton or *Bromelia* net, or large diadems.

### MANUFACTURES

**Bark cloth.**—Various masks and zoomorphic figures are made of bark cloth (pl. 64).

**Basketry.**—Clothes baskets are made of uarumã stalks with a round opening closed with a lid. Four points are drawn up and down over the lid and the bottom, the latter serving as legs. Other baskets have a flat square lid and bottom. Both types of baskets are made in all sizes, from 2 to 16 inches (4 to 40 cm.) in diameter. Burdens are carried in large conical baskets hexagonally woven of liana, or in cylindrical baskets of uarumã stalks. These are supported by an embira-fiber tumpline. The *Tucuna* also use pouches of looped tucum threads.

**Pottery.**—Women and sometimes men still make bowls, dishes, pans, and pots of clay, which are decorated with painted or modeled ornaments. Potter's clay is gathered according to certain rules so as not to anger its owner, a water demon who appears in the shape of the western rainbow.

**Gourds.**—Gourds are covered with a black lacquer, and may bear designs in indelible red pigment. Wooden spoons are carved, sometimes in fantastic shapes.

**Weapons.**—The bow is 6½ feet (2 m.) long with the ends notched to hold the string. It is now rare, even as a fishing weapon. The hunting arrow has a poisoned wooden head and feathering of the arched type. Arrows are 5 feet 4 inches (1⅗ m.) long. Spears have three types of points: (1) a poisoned, wooden point with four corners; (2) an iron point; and (3) a plain pointed stick. The last two are still used to hunt jaguars and peccaries. The *Tucuna* blowgun is over 10 feet (3 m.) long, and the darts 1 foot (30 cm.) long. The poison is the most effective of any made in the Amazon Basin, but its manufacture, which requires much time and care, is now being forgotten. Hunting dogs, which are of little use, are, according to tradition, pre-Columbian.

### SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The *Tucuna* are industrious and hard working, kind to their friends, honest, patient, and hospitable. But they are more liable than other Indians to great outbursts of sudden anger, a trait which sometimes leads them to suicide. This is a manifestation of their individualism and desire to live

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861 More than among other tribes, *Tucuna* children receive corporal punish-
824 ment, especially with the external application of nettle flowers that are grown for this purpose at the edge of the yard. They play with dolls
524 carved of muirapiranga, figures of animals, little canoes, small bows and arrows, and buzz-disks of gourd shells.

173 **Boys' puberty observances.**—There is a tradition that in former times,
881 young men were initiated when their voices changed, being secluded and then perhaps formally admitted to the secrets of the megaphone (tá/ki) through an application of snuff called ká/vi, which is still used occasionally.
114 There are no vestiges of homosexuality, as claimed by Tessmann (1930,
838 p. 563).

881 **Girls' puberty rites.**—At her first menstruation, a girl is secluded in the house loft. This is not so cruel as certain travelers (Bates, 1863, 2:406)
[114] proclaim. Every girl submits willingly, convinced that her peculiar condi-
[626] tion requires it and that its omission would be dangerous, as she is surrounded by invisible "immortals" and demons, who seek contact with her and at times cause extraordinary supernatural experiences. Many stories told to a girl in seclusion illustrate this dangerous state.

[342] The people hasten to prepare for the girl a circular seclusion room adjacent to the east or west wall of the house, according to her moiety.
[532] They decorate the walls with painted bands and lines, and figures of the sun, moon, morning star, and deer, the last a symbol of vigilance and not a "totem."

[262] Preparations for the feast sometimes require months. They prepare roast meat and beverages and make the house ready. The girl's father is host, but her paternal uncle and his wife direct all ceremonies concerning
[574] her person, being wholly responsible for her. Friends and acquaintances
202 receive two invitations to the feast; the second, which specifies the date,
[534] is issued to the sound of the bark trumpet, which is carried hidden in the canoe.

In the exterior portion of the house, corresponding to the girl's seclu-
[534] sion room, a long fence is made with straw walls to conceal the megaphone (tá/ki), its statues, and the bark trumpet which operate behind it each night of the feast and are removed before daybreak and hidden underwater in the creek. People are chosen and invited to operate these instruments by the head of the house when the time comes; there is no permanent assignment. Inside the fence of the megaphone, snuff (ká/vi) or tobacco
[276] powder is taken with several ingredients (but not parica). The snuff is kept in a snail shell and blown into the nose by means of an apparatus made of a tubular bone and two quills of royal sparrow hawk feathers, or by means of a simple taboca (bamboo) tube. Boys of 7 or older cus-
[562] tomarily are given snuff, after which they may see and touch the instru-
[858] ments within the fence, which are taboo to women and to boys who have not yet had it.

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At this feast, as at the feast of children's depilation and ear piercing, masks are used (pl. 65, *top*). These are made, used, and cared for by the guests, who portray anything they wish, such as imaginary demons and fantastic animals. They are in no way associated with individual persons, societies, or other groups. The masked persons customarily remain unidentified until they deliver their masks to the host. About 90 percent of those wearing masks are men, 7 percent boys, and the remainder girls and young women. For costume, clothing is cut and sewn from the bast fiber of certain trees (*Ficus* sp.), sometimes in the shape of pants, sleeves, and fringes, and at other times in the form of a tight gown without sleeves, extending half way down the leg. The face, generally a horrendous caricature of a demon (pl. 64, *top, right*), may be attached to or separate from the costume. The mask representing the storm demon is distinguished by an enormous face and a phallus nearly 18 inches (½ m.) long. Nearly all clothes are painted with vegetable dyes. Sometimes the motif of the mask is identified by the song rather than by the appearance of the mask, which is entirely a product of the individual's imagination. The masked people, sometimes numbering 40 to 50, gather in a special place in the woods, and go to the house in groups up to 10, some of them running up and down at a furious pace, and others approaching slowly. They come for a drink, then disappear to make way for another group.

At the appointed time the guests arrive at the house with their families, sometimes numbering more than 300 persons. They are received inside along the walls, the center being left open for the ceremonies. When all have assembled, they go to the kitchen to be painted with urucú and to have their faces decorated with royal sparrow hawk down. After everyone receives a piece of roast meat, all return in a solemn procession to the house and put their meat on a stand on the side of the seclusion room. On the other side are the vessels of beverages. The feast now begins. Henceforth, everyone goes around the central space in the house singing to the accompaniment of small drums and carrying his dancing stick on his shoulder.

Early in the morning, the girl is brought through a door from the seclusion room to the fenced place around the megaphone where, with her face turned to the proper cardinal point, she is adorned with genipa and white turury that have been ceremonially prepared. Before sunset, she is decorated in the seclusion room with streamers of royal sparrow hawk plumage, a long macaw feather diadem, feather bracelets with white turury fringes, strings of feathers made of toucan abdomens and tails, shell bells with bone clappers, and ear pegs, which are prepared by skilled persons and tried out by her relatives. The women fan her with broad leaves. She then stands in her room facing the place where the megaphone and trumpet are sounded and scratching herself with a little stick. The guests in the main room are given meat and fish stew and cooked bananas.

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### ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

532 **Art.**—The *Tucuna* were fine sculptors. Their carved figures on the dancing sticks, stools, and tucumã nut figures in their necklaces are at times very artistic. Painting is restricted mainly to masks and pottery ornamentation.

533 534 **Music.**—During feasts, the *Tucuna* sing in a falsetto voice so low that it can hardly be heard. Three important instruments are: (1) a wooden, tubular megaphone into which they speak and sing and which is 22 feet (6¼ m.) long with an opening 5 inches (12 cm.) wide and a mouthpiece 2 inches (5 cm.) long; (2) a conical trumpet 13 feet to 19½ feet (4 to 6 m.) long made of a strip of bark wound spirally; and (3) a piston whistle made of liana bark. The last is always sounded before the other two. In any ceremony there is always a faithful imitation of the European drum and a *Thevetia*-shell rattle, the latter taking the place of the conventional maracá, which is unknown. The old form of drum was possibly the shell of a chelonium, which now is used only in one ceremonial. There are also panpipes, bone flutes, and bamboo horns.

[177]

526 **Adult games.**—In shuttlecock, a maize-husk ball is batted into the air with the palm of the hand by men standing in a ring. In a tug-of-war in which a thick liana is used, one team of men competes against another. A ring-and-pin game is played by two men facing each other. Grown girls make cats cradles with threads wrapped around the fingers, toes, and head.

[524]

273 **Beverages.**—Women make alcoholic beverages from maize, cooked bitter manioc, and half-burned cakes (beijú) of manioc; the last was adopted from the Neo-Brazilians. Today many men are addicted to rum.

[177] [733]

### SHAMANISM

754 Even today many Indians possess magic powers to help or harm others. 756 These powers come from intercourse with the spirits of certain trees with which an old shaman puts his disciple in contact. The neophyte shaman receives a magic substance which contains invisible thorns. He throws these into his victim's body, where they reproduce and cause his death unless another shaman sucks them out and completes the cure by applying herbs. The shaman chews tobacco (formerly, he used a tubular wooden pipe with an opening on the side for the mouth) to become possessed of the spirit which supplied the magic pathogenic substance to the witch doctor. Chewing tobacco identifies the evil shaman.

[755]

[276]

753 Children fall ill when the spirits of the trees kidnap their souls. Epidemics come from the sun and are spread by the wind.

683 672 When the *Tucuna* are convinced that a shaman is responsible for one or more deaths, their revenge even reaches his relatives. In 1942, three *Tucuna* killed a much-feared shaman and his two sons. The avengers

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undergo a ceremony performed by some competent shaman, who seeks mainly to protect them from the soul of the murdered witch.

## RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

**The upper world.**—The upper world, which is much lower than the stars, is divided into two parts. One is inhabited by men, who are like Indians, but live under very different conditions. The other is the residence of the goddess Taé (Our Mother) and of the souls of the deceased (naáe) who have been righteous. On their way to the upper world, souls must pass through a sort of gate made of two wooden posts which move back and forth in opposite directions and exclude the souls of incestuous persons, infanticides, murderers, and evil sorcerers. If, however, an evil soul reaches the residence of Taé, she releases two fantastically shaped monsters which demolish it, or else she throws it back to earth, where it becomes a small frog and eventually dies. Taé orders her monsters to purify the souls of occasional sinners by licking them from head to feet. An infanticide's soul has to appear before Taé with the body of the child across his mouth and eat it as a pap.

Taé is not all-powerful, and makes some careless mistakes. She is not the creator and has no connection with the two culture heroes, who equal her in importance, nor with demons, tree spirits, priests, or shamans. But the *Tucuna* greatly respect her because of her close connection with the punishment of sin, both during and after life, and her role as mistress of that part of the soul called naáë (thought, sense).

The other part of the human soul (natcií) is manifest after death as the "shadow of the deceased." It haunts old house sites and takes a human shape at night but at dawn is transformed into some small animal. It is somewhat feared because of its desire to suck one's blood and eat one's flesh and bones, leaving only the empty skin. Brave and smart people, however, easily fool it.

**The lower world.**—The oldest beings in the world are the demons of the underworlds (naáe); some are grouped in many clans, and others are unaffiliated. Though mortal, many are superior to or are very dangerous to men. Their appearance, represented in certain masks, is usually strange and horrible, though they sometimes assume human shape. Most of them live in different kinds of underground and subaquatic regions (nápi), which are entered through caves. Certain nápi are inhabited by anthropomorphic beings with strange defects, such as blind men, dwarfs, and men without anuses.

The most important subaquatic demons are the dyévae, who have the shape of gigantic silurides or ophidians. One, the master of fishes, shows itself in the eastern rainbow. Another, the master of potter's clay, appears